

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OADR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
October 26, 1962

~~EXCISE~~

TO: U - Mr. Ball

R

Attached is a piece of staff work done urgently for Ambassador Thompson. I understand the urgency of the assumption may have changed during the last few hours, but the staff work is equally valuable regardless of the military assumptions.

Essentially it is a graduated series of five political operations centering in the UN, and "escalation" of interdependent political steps with a timetable for each.

IO - Harlan Cleveland

Attachment.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDG/MR

REVIEWED by P. K. [signature]

DATE 2/16/88

☐ RELEASE

☐ DECLASSIFY

☒ EXCISE

☐ DECLASSIFY in PART

☐ DENY

☐ Non-responsive info.

FOI, EO or PA exemptions b(1), b(5)

TS authority to:

☐ CLASSIFY as

, OADR

☒ DOWNGRADE TS to ☐ S or ☒ G, OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OADR

470 2133

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

October 26, 1962

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: Ambassador Thompson

SUBJECT: Operation Raincoat

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Superficially it makes a difference whether, in the staff work on Operation Raincoat, one starts with the desire to carry out an air strike in Cuba within the next few days, and prepare the way for it politically as best we can; or whether we assume that the purpose of our political operations is to make an air strike unnecessary by solving the problem it is designed to solve. We get rid of those dangerous or potentially dangerous missiles on the Island. (b)(1)

In practice, this apparent difference disappears. Whether one wants to make an air strike or wants to avoid an air strike, the political scenario is the same. Basically, it is to exhaust every peaceful remedy that may appear to be an alternative to the direct use of force.

Obviously, we have to set our own deadlines on these limits. These deadlines, which should be set on the basis of hard intelligence with a minimum content of our own natural impatience, set a limit on what can and should be done politically.

Starting from where we now are, with a political negotiation in which the President's good faith is heavily engaged, I have described five different kinds of political operations. As you will see, they are graduated with respect to (a) breadth of subject matter that would be thrown into the negotiating pot; (b) numbers of countries involved; and (c) sense of urgency.

The number of days which might be required at a minimum to get to each of these operations and to get through each of them is set forth in the following table:

		<u>Time from now to start of opera- tion</u>	<u>Minimum time to complete operation</u>
Op. #1	Playing out the present political situation	Now	2-3 days
Op. #2	"Cease and Desist" approach in Security Council	2-3 days	1 day
Op. #3	Brazilian Proposal in Security Council	3-4 days	2-3 days

(cont'd)

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

- 2 -

		<u>Time from now to start of opera- tion</u>	<u>Minimum time to complete operation</u>
Op. #4	Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly	5-7 days	3-4 days
Op. #5	Summitry in the General Assembly	8-11 days	2 days

6(1), 6(5)

Harlan Cleveland

IO:HC:mtb

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

1. Playing Out the Present Political Talks.

We have started down a political track. The President has told the world, through the Secretary General of the United Nations, that he is quite ready for U.S. representatives to talk about satisfactory arrangements and the existing threat. Chairman Khrushchev has also accepted the proposal for talks. These talks started this afternoon, with Messrs. Stevenson and Zorin seeing U Thant separately. They cannot be abandoned summarily in a matter of hours without grave danger to our political case.

Ambassador Stevenson's instructions are to try in the first instance "to achieve a condition which would involve (i) no more offensive arms being delivered to Cuba, (ii) no further build-up of missile sites or bomber facilities, and (iii) any existing Cuban nuclear strike capability being kept inoperable."

Although the instructions were drafted and reviewed by all concerned only this morning, they do not adequately reflect a mood of urgency [that could produce an air strike within the next few days.] Therefore, a first objective [whether the goal is to prevent an air strike or to justify the latter if it is undertaken] should be to make unmistakably clear that the central purpose of Ambassador Stevenson's talks with the Secretary General and with the Soviets is to get the missile buildup stopped and to make sure that no missiles are operational.

This has

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

- 2 -

This has already been done in the first meetings with the Secretary General. It should be done in the strongest terms in the first meeting between Ambassador Stevenson and the Soviets. It should also be done in some fashion publicly; this process seems already to be underway, judging from the dopesters in the papers this afternoon.

In the New York discussions with the Soviets, I think we should come close to making the halting of the buildup and the inoperability of any existing missiles a precondition to going ahead with the talks. If we do not promote this point to the status of the major objective, we will continue to mislead most of the world into making the same mistake that the Secretary General has already made (see telegram 1479 from New York, reporting the first conversation between the Secretary General and Yost and Plimpton): namely, that our quarantine was established to deal with the problem of shipments into Cuba, that it is not relevant to the existing missile buildup within Cuba, and that our quarantine can therefore be traded for a control of military shipments while the missile buildup goes on.

The general objective of the Stevenson-Thant-Zorin talks, therefore, is to get either (a) a stoppage of work on the missile sites and arrangements to make sure the missiles are non-operational or (b) a clear Soviet refusal to deal with this problem satisfactorily.

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

2. In the Security Council

We have pending before the Security Council a resolution which contains the following elements:

- a. Dismantle and withdraw missiles and other offensive weapons;
- b. UN observer corps to assure compliance;
- c. Terminate quarantine when compliance assured;
- d. US and USSR get together and talk.

The Security Council has adjourned sine die, and we cannot convene a meeting to bring our resolution to a vote unless the current "quiet diplomacy" track has clearly come to naught.

If the private negotiations around U Thant's coffee table do come to naught, we would still lose some support in the eyes of UN members if we pressed our resolution to a veto. To do this would appear to some as essentially a cold war maneuver unlikely to promote peaceful settlement of the basic issue.

201, 405-
More attractive politically would be an alternative ploy: to withhold a vote on all three pending resolutions (ours, the Soviet's, and the UAR's) and submit an alternative proposal which would include: (a) a call on the Soviet Union to take steps to withdraw the missiles and the missile sites from Cuba; (b) the elements contained in the substantive position taken by the United States in the U Thant discussions; and (c) provide for stationing of United Nations observers at Guantanamo as a form of political

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DADR

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

AC/LS
[of political assurance. This cease and desist approach would probably get seven supporting votes if the Soviets were clearly responsible for the breakdown of the discussions with Thant. Such a resolution would be vetoed by the Soviet Union.

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
OADR

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

2. ~~Resolution~~ Proposal in the Security Council

Assuming the cease and desist phase failed as a result of a Soviet veto, we should promote in the Security Council a resolution incorporating the Brazilian ideas. The resolution would ^{call} upon the Latin American countries to negotiate arrangements for a denuclearized zone in Latin America (including Cuba), and authorizing the Secretary General to establish administrative machinery to verify and inspect such a zone. In the Council, the proposal should be limited to Latin America (i.e., not include Africa), since the primary focus would be to give the Cubans a face-saver to free themselves of the missiles and missile sites supplied to them by the Soviet Union. At this stage, it might also be desirable to consider whether the United States could provide some sort of an assurance which would diminish the fear of invasion.

NOTE: At any time that it seems desirable to increase the sense of urgency in the Security Council, a proposal could be made under Article 28 of the Charter to hold a meeting of the Security Council at Foreign Minister or even Heads of Government level.

Attachment: Brazilian proposal, as amended by US suggestions.

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly
Substantive Phase.

If the previous steps have failed, we could invoke the Uniting for Peace mechanism in the Security Council and call for an Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly. We would take the lead on a substantive proposal containing two principal elements:

(a) the Brazilian idea of denuclearization, possibly broadened out to include Africa, if we find this would enhance its political support;

(b) the "defanging" resolution (for which the Irish would be the ideal sponsors). This resolution broadens the issue by calling for the dismantling for long-range missile bases on the periphery of the nuclear powers (Turkey, as well as Cuba). It would be important that alternative means be found to take care of the quite legitimate Turkish concerns. The sea force idea referred to by ~~Mr. [Name]~~ in his cable of yesterday appears to be a real possibility. The "defanging" proposal would be considered a very reasonable quid pro quo by a substantial majority of the members of the United Nations.

all left

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~SECRET~~

5. Summitry in the General Assembly

If all the above proposals have failed, we could then initiate a summitry exercise in the General Assembly which would call for a high-level meeting between the United States and the USSR. Such a meeting should include not only Cuba on its agenda, but also Berlin, testing and disarmament, including the problem of nuclear proliferation.

The amount of time it would take to complete the above steps is flexible. It could vary from two to four weeks depending on the pace we chose. Some of the above phases could also be combined or skipped entirely if necessary.

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

EXCISED COPY FOLLOWS

DOWNGRADE ATTACHMENT
TO SECRET - OADR

^EBIAS

186

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

October 26, 1962

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

TO: G - Mr. Johnson

Attached is a piece of staff work done urgently for Ambassador Thompson. I understand the urgency of the assumption may have changed during the last few hours, but the staff work is equally valuable regardless of the military assumptions.

Essentially it is a graduated series of five political operations centering in the UN, and "escalation" of interdependent political steps with a timetable for each.

IO - Harlan Cleveland

Attachment.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

9:25 am
OCT 26 1962

DEPUTY UNDER
SECRETARY OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE - A/CDC/MR

REVIEWED by

DATE 7-6-88

() DECLASSIFY
() DECLASSIFY in PART
() DECLASSIFY
() Non-responsive info.
FOI, EO or PA exemptions (b)(1)

TS authority to:

() CLASSIFY as _____, OADR
() DOWNGRADE TS to () S or () C. OADR

~~SECRET~~

OADR

~~SECRET~~

October 26, 1962

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR

TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE

REVIEWED by Moskowitz DATE 4/1/88

MEMORANDUM FOR: Ambassador Thompson

RELEASE () DECLASSIFY
EXEMPT () DECLASSIFY in PART
FOUO () Non-responsive info.
FOUO or PA exemption (b)(7)(D)

SUBJECT: Operation Raincoat

CLASSIFY as ()
DOWNGRADE IS to () S or () C, OADR
TS authority to: OADR

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

BIAS
(b)(1)
(a)(2)

The political scenario is the same. Basically, it is to exhaust every peaceful remedy that may appear to be an alternative to the direct use of force.

Obviously, we have to set our own deadlines on these limits. These deadlines, which should be set on the basis of hard intelligence with a minimum content of our own natural impatience, set a limit on what can and should be done politically.

Starting from where we now are, with a political negotiation in which the President's good faith is heavily engaged, I have described five different kinds of political operations. As you will see, they are graduated with respect to (a) breadth of subject matter that would be thrown into the negotiating pot; (b) numbers of countries involved; and (c) sense of urgency.

The number of days which might be required at a minimum to get to each of these operations and to get through each of them is set forth in the following table:

		Time from now to start of opera- tion	Minimum time to complete operation
Op. #1	Playing out the present political situation	Now	2-3 days
Op. #2	"Cease and Desist" approach in Security Council	2-3 days	1 day
Op. #3	Brazilian Proposal in Security Council	3-4 days	2-3 days

(cont'd)

~~TOP SECRET-SENSITIVE~~

OADR

~~SECRET~~
TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE CADR

DECLASSIFIED

Time from now to
start of opera-
tion

Minimum time
to complete
operation

Op. #4	Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly	5-7 days	3-4 days
Op. #5	Summitry in the General Assembly	8-11 days	2 days

Harlan Cleveland

IO:HC:mtb

TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE

DECLASSIFIED

TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE *DAIR*

1. Playing Out the Present Political Talks.

We have started down a political track. The President has told the world, through the Secretary General of the United Nations, that he is quite ready for U.S. representatives to talk about satisfactory arrangements and the existing threat. Chairman Khrushchev has also accepted the proposal for talks. These talks started this afternoon, with Messrs. Stevenson and Zorin seeing U Thant separately. They cannot be abandoned summarily in a matter of hours without grave danger to our political case.

Ambassador Stevenson's instructions are to try in the first instance "to achieve a condition which would involve (i) no more offensive arms being delivered to Cuba, (ii) no further build-up of missile sites or bomber facilities, and (iii) any existing Cuban nuclear strike capability being kept inoperable."

A first objective *—*

] should be to make unmistakably clear that the central purpose of Ambassador Stevenson's talks with the Secretary General and with the Soviets is to get the missile buildup stopped and to make sure that no missiles are operational.

TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE

This has

B/A5

(b)(1)
(a)(5)

B/A5

(b)(1)
(a)(5)

DAIR

TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE

DECLASS-2-10

This has already been done in the first meetings with the Secretary General. It should be done in the strongest terms in the first meeting between Ambassador Stevenson and the Soviets. It should also be done in some fashion publicly; this process seems already to be underway, judging from the dopesters in the papers this afternoon.

In the New York discussions with the Soviets, I think we should come close to making the halting of the buildup and the inoperability of any existing missiles a precondition to going ahead with the talks. If we do not promote this point to the status of the major objective, we will continue to mislead most of the world into making the same mistake.

BIAS
(b)(1)(A)(5)

that our quarantine was established to deal with the problem of shipments into Cuba, that it is not relevant to the existing missile buildup within Cuba, and that our quarantine can therefore be traded for a control of military shipments while the missile buildup goes on.

The central objective of the Stevenson-Thant-Zorin talks, therefore, is to get either (a) a stoppage of work on the missile sites and arrangements to make sure the missiles are non-operational or (b) a clear Soviet refusal to deal with this problem satisfactorily.

SECRET

TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE

SECRET
TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE OADR

2. In the Security Council:

We have pending before the Security Council a resolution which contains the following elements:

- a. Dismantle and withdraw missiles and other offensive weapons;
- b. UN observer corps to assure compliance;
- c. Terminate quarantine when compliance assured;
- d. US and USSR get together and talk.

The Security Council has adjourned sine die, and we cannot convene a meeting to bring our resolution to a vote unless the current "quiet diplomacy" track has clearly come to naught.

If the private negotiations around U Thant's coffee table do come to naught, we would still lose some support in the eyes of UN members if we pressed our resolution to a veto. To do this would appear to some as essentially a cold war maneuver unlikely to promote peaceful settlement of the basic issue.

More attractive politically would be an alternative ploy: to withhold a vote on all three pending resolutions (ours, the Soviets', and the UAR's) and submit an alternative proposal which would include: (a) a call on the Soviet Union to take steps to withdraw the missiles and the missile sites from Cuba; (b) the elements contained in the substantive position taken by the United States in the U Thant discussions; and (c) provide for stationing of United Nations observers at Guantanamo as a form

of political

SECRET
TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE OADR

CADK
TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE

of political assurance. This basic and realist approach would probably get seven supporting votes if the Soviets were clearly responsible for the breakdown of the discussions with Thant. Such a resolution would be vetoed by the Soviet Union.

DECLASSIFIED

TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE

CADK

C-244444 JADR

TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE

DECLASSIFIED

3. Brazilian Proposal in the Security Council

Assuming the cease and desist phase failed as a result of a Soviet veto, we should promote in the Security Council a resolution incorporating the Brazilian ideas. The resolution would ^{call} upon the Latin American countries to negotiate arrangements for a demuscularized zone in Latin America (including Cuba), and authorizing the Secretary General to establish administrative machinery to verify and inspect such a zone. In the Council, the proposal should be limited to Latin America (i.e., not include Africa), since the primary focus would be to give the Cubans a face-saver to free themselves of the missiles and missile sites supplied to them by the Soviet Union. At this stage, it might also be desirable to consider whether the United States could provide some sort of an assurance which would diminish the fear of invasion.

NOTE: At any time that it seems desirable to increase the sense of urgency in the Security Council, a proposal could be made under Article 28 of the Charter to hold a meeting of the Security Council at Foreign Minister or even Heads of Government level.

Attachment: Brazilian proposal, as amended by US suggestions.

DECLASSIFIED

TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE

OADR

OADR

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

4. Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly
Substantive Phase.

If the previous steps have failed, we could invoke the Uniting for Peace mechanism in the Security Council and call for an Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly. We would take the lead on a substantive proposal containing two principal elements:

(a) the Brazilian idea of denuclearization, possibly broadened out to include Africa, if we find this would enhance its political support; and

(b) the "defanging" resolution (for which the Irish would be the ideal sponsors). This resolution broadens the issue by calling for the dismantling for long-range missile bases on the periphery of the nuclear powers (Turkey, as well as Cuba). It would be important that alternative means be found to take care of the quite legitimate Turkish concerns. The sea force idea referred to by Finletter in his cable of yesterday appears to be a real possibility. The "defanging" proposal would be considered a very reasonable quid pro quo by a substantial majority of the members of the United Nations.

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

OADR

TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE

DECLASSIFIED

5. Summitry in the General Assembly

If all the above proposals have failed, we could then initiate a summitry exercise in the General Assembly which would call for a high-level meeting between the United States and the USSR. Such a meeting should include not only Cuba on its agenda, but also Berlin, testing and disarmament, including the problem of nuclear proliferation.

The amount of time it would take to complete the above steps is flexible. It could vary from two to four weeks depending on the pace we chose. Some of the above phases could also be combined or skipped entirely if necessary.

TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE

DECLASSIFIED

EXCISED COPY FOLLOWS

CONFIDENTIAL

downgrade E (11), (15) (5)

OADR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

DECLASSIFIED

October 26, 1962

EXCISE

TO: U - Mr. Ball

Attached is a piece of staff work done urgently for Ambassador Thompson. I understand the urgency of the assumption may have changed during the last few hours, but the staff work is equally valuable regardless of the military assumptions.

Essentially it is a graduated series of five political operations centering in the UN, and "escalation" of interdependent political steps with a timetable for each.

[Signature]

IO - Harlan Cleveland

Attachment.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR

REVIEWED by *[Signature]* DATE *2/6/88*

() RELEASE () DECLASSIFY
(X) EXCISE () DECLASSIFY in PART
() DENY () Non-responsive info.
FOI, EO or PA exceptions *[Signature]*

TS authority to: *[Signature]*
() CLASSIFY as *[Signature]* OADR
(X) DOWNGRADE TS to () S or () G, OADR

DECLASSIFIED

OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

OADR

October 26, 1962

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: Ambassador Thompson

SUBJECT: Operation Raincoat

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Superficially it makes a difference whether, in the work on Operation Raincoat, one starts with the desire

to get rid of these dangerous or potentially dangerous missiles on the Island.

In practice, this apparent difference disappears. one wants to make an air strike or wants to avoid an air strike the political scenario is the same. Basically, it is to every peaceful remedy that may appear to be an alternative to the direct use of force.

Obviously, we have to set our own deadlines on these. These deadlines, which should be set on the basis of hard intelligence with a minimum content of our own natural instinct, set a limit on what can and should be done politically.

Starting from where we now are, with a political no in which the President's good faith is heavily engaged, I described five different kinds of political operations. As we will see, they are graduated with respect to (a) breadth of subject matter that would be thrown into the negotiating process; (b) numbers of countries involved; and (c) sense of urgency.

The number of days which might be required at a minimum to get to each of these operations and to get through each of them is set forth in the following table:

		Time from now to start of operation
Op. #1	Playing out the present political situation	Now
Op. #2	"Cease and Desist" approach in Security Council	2-3 days
Op. #3		3-4 days

(cont'd)

b(1), b(5)

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

CONFIDENTIAL

OADR

CONFIDENTIAL OADR

~~TOP SECRET~~ - SENSITIVE

Time from now to
start of opera-
tion

Minimum time
to complete
operation

Op. #4

5-7 days

3-4 days

Op. #5

8-11 day:

2 days

ling, 2 (7)

Harlan Cleveland

IO:HC:mtb

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~

CONFIDENTIAL

OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

0400

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

1. Flaying Out the Present Political Talk

We have started down a political track. The President has told the world, through the Secretary General of the United Nations, that he is quite ready for U.S. representatives to talk about satisfactory arrangements and the existing threat. Chairman Khrushchev has also accepted the proposal for talks. These talks started this afternoon, with Messrs. Stevenson and Zorin seeing U Thant separately. They cannot be abandoned summarily in a matter of hours without grave danger to our political case.

Ambassador Stevenson's instructions are to try in the

Although the instructions were drafted and reviewed by all concerned only this morning, they do not adequately reflect a mood of urgency

Therefore, a first objective

should be to make unmistakably clear that the central purpose of Ambassador Stevenson's talks with the Secretary General and with the Soviets is to get the missile buildup stopped and to make sure that no missiles are operational.

This has

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

CONFIDENTIAL

0400

CONFIDENTIAL

OADR

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~

CONFIDENTIAL

This has already been done in the first meetings with the Secretary General. It should be done in the strongest terms in the first meeting between Ambassador Stevenson and the Soviets. It should also be done in some fashion publicly; this process seems already to be underway, judging from the posters in the papers this afternoon.

10/1, 10/5

CONFIDENTIAL

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~

CONFIDENTIAL

OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

OADR

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

2. In the Security Council:

No have pending before the Security Council a resolution which contains the following elements:

- a. Dismantle and withdraw missiles and other offensive weapons;
- b. UN observer corps to assure compliance;
- c. Terminate quarantine when compliance assured;
- d. US and USSR get together and talk.

The Security Council has adjourned sine die, and we cannot convene a meeting to bring our resolution to a vote unless the current "quiet diplomacy" track has clearly come to naught.

If the private negotiations around U Thant's coffee table do come to naught, we would still lose some support in the eyes of UN members if we pressed our resolution to a veto. To do this would appear to some as essentially a cold war maneuver unlikely to promote peaceful settlement of the basic issue.

001, 405-1

DECLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET - SENSITIVE~~

CONFIDENTIAL

OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

OAD R

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~

DECLASSIFIED

QF1, 6/57

DECLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~

CONFIDENTIAL

OAD P

CONFIDENTIAL
C40R

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~
DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~

CONFIDENTIAL
EAD 12

10/11/14

CONFIDENTIAL

OADR

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~
SECRET

11/11/77

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~
SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

OADR

CONFIDENTIAL
OADR

~~TOP SECRET~~ ~~SENSITIVE~~

DECLASSIFIED

5. Summitry in the General Assembly

If all the above proposals have failed, we could then initiate a summitry exercise in the General Assembly which would call for a high-level meeting between the United States and the USSR. Such a meeting should include not only Cuba on its agenda, but also Berlin, testing and disarmament, including the problem of nuclear proliferation.

The amount of time it would take to complete the above steps is flexible. It could vary from two to four weeks depending on the pace we chose. Some of the above phases could also be combined or skipped entirely if necessary.

~~TOP SECRET~~ ~~SENSITIVE~~

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

OADR